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The linguistic position of Macedonian

Abbreviations and symbols

aind. – High Hindi.

M. – Macedonian

M – Medium¹

MA – Medium Aspirated (*Medie Aspirate* in plain Italian)²

TA – Tenuous (Soft or Fricative) Aspirated (*Tenuer Aspirate* in plain Italian)³

T – Tenuous.

ff. – Citation

G. Meyer, Gr. Gr. – G. Meyer, Griechische Grammatik. 3a. Leipzig edition, 1896.

Gl. – Gloss (word)

gr. – “Greek”⁴

Hfm. – O. Hoffmann, 'Die Makedonen, ihre Sprache und ihr Volkstum', Göttingen, 1906.⁵

ie. – Indoeuropean

IF – Indogermanische Forshungen (Indoeuropean research), Strasbourg and Berlin

IJ – Indogermanisches Jahrbuch (Indoeuropean yearbook) , Strasbourg and Berlin

KZ – Zeitschrift fur vergleichende Sprachforschung (Font-line for comparative language research). Berlin, Gutersloh and Göttingen.

neopers. – Neo-Persian.

§ – What is meant on, see on (page, chapter).

¹ The term Medium (Medie Aspirate or non-Aspirate), in historical linguistics, it is meant for the aspirated voiced stops of some Indo-European languages and in particular of Macedonian and Sanskrit.

² https://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/Media_aspirata

³ https://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/Consonante_tenue

⁴ It must be underlined here and again, the fact that the term “Greek” in ancient times didn’t existed whatsoever. It was unknown in the Macedonian Peninsula (“Balkan” as of the 19th century) before the event of the Romans. It is a Latin exonym (“Graecus”), introduced along with the Roman invasions, and was completely unknown to the populations it tries to describe.

⁵ <https://archive.org/details/diemakedonenihre00hoffuoft>

1. The problem of the linguistic position of Macedonian is usually posed in the form of whether or not it belongs to the “Greek”⁶ linguistic unit. There are elements for and against, and each one remains with his opinion.

In part, this aporia⁷ depends on the fact that we do not have a linguistic type to contrast with the "Greek", so that it is legitimate to judge the relevance of Macedonian to one of the two types: for example, given the German and French linguistic types, there cannot be doubt about the attribution to one or the other of them of an Alsatian or Swiss dialect. With the German comparison term removed, we can endlessly discuss whether a border dialect is French or not, in the absence of purely linguistic criteria. But even given the existence of the two types, the certain assignment of a dialect to one of them is not always possible. Between French and German, or between German and Polish, for example, the decision is clear because the two types are so divergent from each other that there can be no doubt or uncertainty: but the thing changes when we are faced with two closely related languages such as Italian and French. Do the so-called Gallo-Italian dialects go with the Gallo-Romance of France or with Italian? Such a question is usually answered by drawing a posteriori schemes embracing the characteristics common, as a whole, to all the dialects that consider themselves Italian, and to all those that consider themselves Provencal or French; but it is clear that these schemes are based on the attribution, made before establishing them, of certain dialects to one group rather than another. And this attribution in turn rests not on purely glottological reasons, but on geographical-political and also cultural reasons: the latter includes the fact that the speakers of those dialects have adopted Italian as their national and literary language instead of French or the other way around. Indeed, Grober (in the systematic introduction to his *Grundriss*) had already observed that a strictly scientific grouping of the very varied range of novel dialects spoken in Iberia, Gaul and Italy is impossible, and ends up basing his distinction practice on the literary language used by speakers of the various dialects. And whoever sees that, even if only one literary and national language is used in Romania, the dialectal subdivisions of them would end up being as many as the scholars who dealt with the problem, due to continuous discussions among them. The importance of the

⁶ Why quotation marks? Because of the fabricated ethnogenesis of the so-called “ancient Greex”, actually a Latin exonym introduced by Romans, misleadingly based on the composition of the participants in the Trojan War (ca. 1180 BCE), such as the Danaans, Achaeans, Argaeads, etc., who were mentioned by Homer in his “Iliad”. The politically biased modern historiography tends to misrepresent some of these ancient peoples as “Greex” or “Hellenic”, but this is a blatant forgery – according to all the ancient sources “Hellenes” did not colonize the Peloponnesus until 80 years after the Trojan War.

“The “Greex” were (and still are) ignorant of their origin. They neither knew whence their ancestors had come nor when they had established themselves in “Grease”, nor what they had done there. To preserve the exact memory of things as they occur, there is need of some means of fixing them; but the “Greex” did not know how to write; they did not employ writing until about the 8th century BCE. They had no way of calculating the number of years. Later they adopted the usage of counting the years according to the great feast which was celebrated every four years at Olympia; a period of four years was called an olympiad. But the 1st olympiad was placed in 776 BCE, and the chronology of the “Greex” does not rise beyond this date.” – ‘History of Ancient Civilization’ (1912) by Charles Seignobos, Doctor of Letters of the University of Paris, p.102.

⁷ An irresolvable internal contradiction or logical disjunction in a text, argument, or theory.

national language, to which the speakers are recognized, for the distribution of dialects cannot be better shown than with the case of Dutch; this Low German dialect has risen to the dignity of language of a State that has had and still has great importance in world political and economic life, and all the dialects spoken by the subjects of that State, subjects who use Dutch outside the restricted circle of domestic and local interests, are therefore considered Dutch dialects; whereas the Low German dialects in the Germanic empire are attributed to the German group, albeit more closely to Dutch than to literary German, for the simple reason that literary German is the language used in higher literature and in political relations, economic and cultural activities by the inhabitants of Lower Germany.

We want to conclude from this, that, if the Macedonians used the "*Greek*" as a literary language, their regional language is to be considered "*Greek*"? Not a chance. The 'conclusion' and vice versa that the question of whether or not Macedonian is relevant to "*Greek*" is, from a purely glottological point of view, false and useless. It is a consequence of the Schleicherian theory known as the 'genealogical tree': if we believe that a "proto-*Greek*" branch was detached from the Indo-European from which in their turn the various dialects have sprung up like so many twigs, the problem can be posed; if we believe instead, as and in my opinion corresponding to the truth, that the so-called "*Greek dialects*" are nothing more than the continuation of Indo-European dialects, which have made a certain number of innovations in agreement and therefore possess a quantity of common isoglosses ($\eta > \alpha$, $r > \alpha\varphi$, $\rho\alpha$, dh bh $gh > \theta$ φ $\chi > X$, most of the lexicon, etc. etc.), the problem is reduced to determining which are the common isoglosses on the basis of which we can or not consider a dialect as "*Greek*". If among these isoglosses we also place the passage from Medium Aspirate (MA) to Tenuous Aspirate (TA), Macedonian is not "*Greek*"; if instead we exclude it, Macedonian can be "*Greek*". But it is clear that the exclusion or otherwise of this isoglosses is a subjective criterion, and some might say that it considers the passage of ' α ' into ' η ' [Θ] as an isoglossal characteristic of the "*Greek*" dialects, thus excluding the non-Ionian-Attic dialects from the "*Greek*". All this is unscientific, also because the uncertainty of the data on cultural affinities, etc. of the Macedonians with the "*Greek*", deprives us of those practical subsidies that allow us to speak, more or less arbitrarily, of a dialect group of Italian, French and so on.

Thus discarded the prejudice of the pertinence or not to the oneness of "*Greek dialects*", we want to ask ourselves the question with which Indo-European languages the Macedonian has common isoglosses, and if these isoglosses can enlighten us on the prehistory of the language.

This theme has been already touched upon by me elsewhere (Studies chapter VI), but in connection with others and therefore briefly and without considering it from a purely Macedonian point of view: and it is with much greater pleasure that I retake it up here, with apprehension upgraded by a few years of study and overall reflection, as this seemed to me very important for what concerns the methodological approach.⁸

⁸ Hoffmann 36 speaks - reflecting a current opinion - of "Macedonian Mixed language" ("Makedonische Mischsprache"), which would be composed of "*Greek*" and Thracian elements; that is, it should be based on the hypothesis that "*in Macedonia two cultures met, one of which superiorly organized "Greek", represented by the king and the nobility, gradually united the country and became the foundation of the Macedonian state*" (p. 112). As if language, which from time to time activity (*energeia*) of a spirit, could be compared to a mixture of two different things (*erga*)! There are no mixed languages, but Macedonian (or, to be exact, the language of every Macedonian) was a language that had common isoglosses with "*Greek*", others with Thracian and/or Illyrian. As if we wanted to talk about a mixed language about "*Greek*" because it has common isoglosses with Armenian and Persian (augmentation, aspiration of *s*,

It should be noted here that, in order to avoid attributing false phonemes and forms to Macedonian, I renounce in the following pages to all the glosses of Amerias⁹ brought by Hoffmann and also in general to the glosses without ethnicity, which even by me have been with greater or lesser probability ascribed to that language. Furthermore, I'll keep as little as possible account of the proper names, that represent a material that is often ambiguous and treacherous, and whose use is not entirely essential to study of a language we know in some, albeit few, terms of common speech.¹⁰

2. The most well-known mark of Macedonian, the one on which the ancient grammarians had already fixed their attention, is the substitution of Indo-european Medium Aspirate (MA), and therefore their appearance in place of the "Greek" Tenuous Aspirate (TA). Examples:

αβαρκνα, κομα (according to Hfm. 54) – M.: ai. *barhah* - 'tail feathers; bird's tail', Avestan: *baresman* - 'tuft of bushes used in worship' etc.

αδη, ουρανος – M. = αιθηρ: αιθω, ai. *edhas* - 'fuel' etc.; with αδε also goes αδραια, αιθρια. M. (Hfm.37) and, according to Barić, αδισκον κυκεωνα. M., which is very probable if αδισκος, designates the θερμιος τις και ζοροτερος ποτος, of which Αteneo IV 129 d speaks (according to Hfm.72).

βαβρην υποστασις, ελαιου κατα – M.: gr. βαπτω etc. (Hfm.73 ff.) Rad. *guebh-* (Walde-Pokorny, I 674).

βαλακροζ – Proper name: φαλακρος.

βαταρα, if with Hfm.72 ff. so it should be read, and meant 'wheat bread': φωγω, ger. *backen* etc. root *bhog-* (compare Walde-Pokorny, II 187); in this case -kt-> Macedonian -t-, compare with § 12.

βερενικη – Proper name: φερω etc.¹¹

βιρροξ. δασυ – M., if βιρρ '(with which Hfm.52 compares the stray glosses βερρον δασυ and βειρον δασυ which goes with *hirs-* from Lat. *hirsutus* going back to *guhirs-; Lat. h- for f- with noted alteration (Sommer, Handbuch der lateinischen Laut- und Formenlehre, 2-3rd edition, 192). For *rs* > Macedonian *rr*, compare § 9 III.

Γορπιαιος – Name of the month, July-August: Slovenian: *gorek* - 'hot', Czech: *horky*¹², Polish: *gorky* (dial.) id. (ablg. *Goriku* - 'bitter') is *guhorqu- (Berneker 232 sec.). Γορπιαιος, presupposes

prohibitive μη, etc.) and on the other hand with Oscan-Umbrian (labialization of the labiovelars), and so on.

⁹ Who undoubtedly attributes certain words to Macedonian because they are drawn from the works of the Macedonian Amerias, acts as a glottologist, say, of 4000 AD, who positions himself on citations and ignoring the respective languages, he considered German all the words of which he knows to have been translated by scholars such as Brugmann or Kretschmer, French those about which Meillet or Cuny are mentioned, and so on.

¹⁰ Where the name of the source is not given for a gloss, this is the lexicon of Hesychius.

¹¹ <http://www.makedonski.info/search/verenica>

¹² "Gori" in plain Macedonian: <http://www.makedonski.info/search/gori>

a *Gorpia- 'heat' (proper name of a female summer spirit? And/or perhaps of 'Gorpeios' too - Lat. '*Orpheus*'), following the historical masculinization of the Great Mother Goddess and all the primordial female deities; and this a *gorpos- equal to the Macedonic word.¹³

Δανων γαρ – M. τον θανατων καλουσι (Plut. Mor. 22 C); ανον κακοποιον, κτεινων. M.: θανατος etc., from the root *dhuen- (Hfm. 75 sec., compare with Walde-Pokorny I 841).

δραμις: ... αρτοι τινες, ... Σελευκος μεν δραμιν υπο – M. ουτως καλουμενον, Athen. III 146 b. If the voice is really Macedonian (similar forms appear in the Atamans and Thessalians, Athen. loc. cit. and Hfm.72) it goes with τροφαλις - 'fresh cheese', θρομβειον - 'dumpling', a.nord. *drafli* - 'fresh cheese', from the root *dhrebh- 'pieces, crumbs'¹⁴ (compare Walde-Pokorny I 876 and 856): it gives us an example of -bm > Mkd. -m- (compare § 12).

δρωψ = αν]θρωπος – was attributed by me to the Macedonian in the Etymological Miscellany No.17 (Statements of the R. National Academy of Lincei VI, IV, 361 cf.) and the item *dhrobhs- (: τρεφω) defended against the criticism of Kretschmer (Gl. XX. 251) in Studi Italiani di filologia classica, NS XII 300 segg. The relevance of this word to the Macedonian seems to me to be confirmed by Δρωπιδας, the name of Clito's father. It must be noted, however, that Δρωπιδης and other names with δρωπ are not uncommon in ancient "Greece", Hfm.183.

Δυστρος – Name of the month: Θυιος id. (Hfm. 106).

δωραξ (doraxi)*. **σπλην υπο** – M.: θωραξ (thoraxi) – 'bandage' (according to Hfm.75).

* A corrupt-attached form of "do-ratsi" [descriptive] - 'up to the hands' in plain Macedonian; also interpreted as 'bandages' because of the horizontal linen or leather stripes that were used to wrap around the body in order to protect/cover it; from there it developed also the idea for further improvement of the ancient armour, made of horizontal leather stripes or linen bandages, reinforced and covered with the hard metal or other material plates attached to the more elastic

¹³ <https://glosbe.com/hr/en/goropadan>, see also "Gorostas" - 'Giant':
<https://en.wiktionary.org/wiki/gorostas>

¹⁴ "Drebno" - 'small, crumble-like' in plain Macedonian: <http://www.makedonski.info/search/drobi>

¹⁵ <http://www.makedonski.info/search/do%D0%B4%D0%BE%D0%BF%D1%80%D0%B5%D0%B4%D0%BB> , <http://www.makedonski.info/search/race>



underneath support. This concept also remained as the root word for “*Orač*” - ‘plowman’ in today plain Macedonian¹⁶, because of the leather stripes by which usually the plowmen used to wrap themselves around the chest to the yoke of oxen or horses, and by which they direct them



¹⁶ <http://www.makedonski.info/search/ora%D1%87>

in desired direction; and/or also because of the plowed earth (“*Oranitsa*” in plain Macedonian¹⁷) that molds into uniform tracks/stripes across the arable land (see the picture on the next page); thus directly related also to the verbs “*ora*”¹⁸, etc.; from the PIE root *erie- ‘to plow’; Armenian: *arawr*, Sanskrit: *ara*¹⁹, Latin: *arare*, anglicized ‘*arable*’²⁰, etc. But also “*para*” - ‘to tear (apart) textile’, “*shara*” - ‘to draw lines, parallel lines’ i.e. embroidery²¹, etc.



εδεατρος* – 'butler' < επ-θεατρος = επι-θεατρος (Hfm.77 ff.) with -pd-> -d- (compare § 12).

* actually a food-tester, from PIE *edhyed- ‘to eat’²² and “troa” - ‘little, small amount’; in today Modern Macedonian: *yade-troa*²³ - ‘eats-little (i.e. tastes)’.

τας παρθενους, ας παλαι Κλωδωνας εκληξον οι – M. (Polieno IV 1) it was flanked by Barić to Macedonian κλωτω, καλαμος. I would insist on the juxtaposition with κλωθω - 'spinning', and I

¹⁷ <http://www.makedonski.info/search/oranica>

¹⁸ <http://www.makedonski.info/search/ora>

¹⁹ <http://sanskritdictionary.org/ara>

²⁰ <https://www.etymonline.com/word/arable>

²¹ <http://www.makedonski.info/search/%D1%88ara#%D1%88%D0%B0%D1%80%D0%B0%D0%B6>,
https://www.google.com/search?ei=pzOZK-aJGZHkU6Cem4AD&q=makedonski+narodni+sari&oq=makedonski+narodni+%C5%A1ari&gs_lcp=CgZwc3ktYWIQARgAMgYIABAWEBAgAEc6BQgaEMOCOgQIABADOgIIjoECAAQHjoECAAQEzoFCCEQoAFQ4r8BWL-

https://www.google.com/search?ei=pzOZK-aJGZHkU6Cem4AD&q=makedonski+narodni+sari&oq=makedonski+narodni+%C5%A1ari&gs_lcp=CgZwc3ktYWIQARgAMgYIABAWEBAgAEc6BQgaEMOCOgQIABADOgIIjoECAAQHjoECAAQEzoFCCEQoAFQ4r8BWL-NAmDgsgJoAHAEeACAAbABiAGAFZIBBDUuMTiYAQCgAQGqAQdn3Mtd2l6yAEIwAEB&scilent=psy-ab

²² https://www.etymonline.com/search?q=*&ref=searchbar_searchhint

²³ <http://www.makedonski.info/search/troa>

would think of a semantic evolution equal to that for which in English 'spinster' (properly 'the spinner') it came to indicate the 'girl'.

Χανδικος – Name of month, evidently from the name of a God ‘Xandos’ = ξανδος (also *Xand*, the ancient name of the river Drim in western Republic of Macedonia); which O. Müller, Die Dorier II 1,304 rightly considers identical with Apollo Φοιβος.

Σταδμεας – Proper name: σταθμη (Hfm. 144).

Υπερβερεταιος – Name of the month: φερω (Hfm. 108).

3. By this norm: Indoeuropean MA ie. > M Macedonian, there are two series of apparent constituent exceptions, the first one from proper names with χ θ φ (Αθαρριας, Αμφοτερος, Ηθαρος, Θεοδωρος, Λαιχος, Χρυσογονος, etc.) and the second one from some isolated words.

According to the Hfm.233 the writing of Aspirate for Media, very frequent in personal names, does not reflect the real pronunciation and would rather be a preservation of the (more) ancient graphemes within the ancient “Greek” alphabet (“altgriechisches Alphabet”) before the adoption of the Ionic-Attic alphabet in the IV century. However, concessions were made only and rarely in etymologically isolated names such as Σταδμεας. This is without doubt arbitrary by highest degree: and at the most this thing would have to be on contrary, as proper names with clear etymological connections had, thanks to these, to follow the pronunciation of the (more) ancient graphemes, while the isolated ones would have been more capable to preserve the old graphemes aspect (and Βιλιππον Et. M. 179, 17?). In addition, the passage of the MA to M was dated in a (more) recent age in an unlikely way, since it followed later than the adoption of an archaic alphabet in Macedonia, and it actually followed so much later that a certain tradition in writing proper names had been established. And again, it is surprising that the “Greek” writers used the Macedonian spelling without even once warning us that the pronunciation of the names was different from their written aspect²⁴, just as the ancient grammarians clearly observed the correspondence of Macedonian M to “Greek” TA. Evidently the “Greek” element played a large part in the Macedonian onomastics: and, we add, in the onomastics of that Macedonian nobleman who had continuous and cordial relations with (Semitic) “Greek” cities as from Aminta (6th century BC) and Alexander the ‘Philhellen’. Thus Thessaly must have been influenced from an earlier time. And this influence in the onomastics by a people who were more culturally elevated (?) and whose language must have been common among the Macedonians of the upper classes, is no different from that which, for example, German exercised on Baltic subject to Prussia until 1918.

Deducing from the proper names, the Macedonian had no TA from ie. MA, as the Hfm. himself points out in 233 (ff.) for Θαυλος and Θουριδες, thus freeing us from the inconvenient and inexplicable exceptions. The attribution of ξερεθρον to the Macedonian is doubtful, given that Eustatius attributes the word twice to the Macedonians and once to the Arcadians, Strabon VIII 389 only to the Arcadians; one could at most think that there were two glosses, ξερεδρον for Macedonians, ξερεθρον for the Arcadians, and that Eustatius or his source had confused them in a second form only, more responsive to the Homeric βερεθρον (root. *guer-*) for whose purpose he speaks of. But for the other three cases: αρφυς ιμας M., χαρων ο λεων κατα M., and above all αγχαρμων ανωφερη την αιχμην θαγχαρμον το την λογεναν. M. (the latter from Hfm.88. reapproached with gr. Χαρυη - 'tip of the spear') it seems reckless to me to seek out loopholes

²⁴ Compare to phonological deformations in the modern French, Spanish, and other western idioms.

like those attempted by Hoffmann himself, rejecting the testimony of αρφυς because it contains φ, considering the attribution of χαρων to the Macedonians for the same fictitious reason, and finally seeing in the Macedonian command a literary transcription with a re-approach to the “Greek” pronunciation (of which word, then?) It is quite evident that both αγχαρμον with the “Greek” χαρμη and χαρων contain a root with original TA, referring to the *khar-* from aind. *khara* - 'hard, rough, stinging, cruel'²⁵, neopers. *xār*, *xārā* - 'the rock, thorn', gr. καρχαρος - 'sharp, mordacious' (see καρχαροδων), καρχαρεως - 'biting', καρχαριας - 'shark'. It would therefore seem that, unlike the MA, the TA was preserved in Macedonian or at least did not fall back with the respective T, similarly to what happens in Iranian (MA> M; TA> Mute Aspirates), in Armenian (MA > M; kh > X; th ph remain; the partial TA from ancient T represent a secondary development) and partially in Macedonic (MA > M; kh > ch; th ph > t p). This would seem confirmed by αρφυς which can go with *rapio* and therefore with gr. ερεπτομαι etc. and with ai. *raphita* - 'pity' (properly 'damaged', see Mkd. *rovita/rovka*)²⁶ and that Indian grammarians lead back to a not otherwise known root *rph* - 'to offend'.

4. And everything would go well, if there weren't for the note of the Et. Magn. 195, 36: και τον κεφαλην κεβαλην λεγουσι (scil. Oi M.), confirmed by the Macedonian names Κεβαλος and Κεβαλινος. This word, evidently equal to gr. κεφαλη (the actual pronunciation will have been κεβαλα!), corresponds to the Germanic forms *Giebel* (Old Germ. *gibil*), Goth *giblo* - 'blackbird, pinnacle', Old Germ. *gebal* - 'skull', etc., which presuppose a root with two MA *ghebh-, and this can also be based on the “Greek” κεφαλη (from 'χεφ'). There is also a form γαβαλαν, εγκεφαλον, η κεφαλην, but unfortunately this gloss is adespota, and there are two cases: either the voice is not Macedonian (Thracian, Illyrian), and then it confirms that the root began and ended with MA; that is, it is Macedonian, and in view of the rich documentation with initial K- and prudent (although not necessary) to explain it with Fick KZ XLII 147 as the result of an assimilation comparable to that of Italian *gabinetto*, from French *cabinet*, vulg. Lat. *gamba* - 'leg' from καμπη (μπ = mb), etc.²⁷

The word κεβαλη has had a notable part in the discussions on the linguistic relevance of Macedonian, by the Hatzidakis: in various writings (Z. Abst. From Mak. 33; IF XI 318; KZ XXXVII 150 ff.; Περι του ελληνισμου των αρκααιων, 1925 - known to me for the review of Kretschmer Gl. XVI 171 ff.). This scholar argued that the k- of κεβαλη showed the Macedonian having first transformed together with the “Greek” the MA into TA, and then together with the “Greek” lost the aspiration of a syllable followed by another also with an aspirated consonant; and only later the TA would become in Macedonian M. In short, *ghebhala- through *khephala indi κεφαλη would finally give κεβαλη. This theory, which to some seemed far-fetched, does not lack a certain phonetic foundation: it would be enough to think that in Macedonian the TA, preceding the “Greek” evolution by centuries, had become deaf spirants, which would then have

²⁵ The ai. it also has a *kharmam* which appears with the meanings of: 1. roughness, coarseness, 2. silk cloth; 3. virility. The latter meaning is testified only by lexicographers, and Bohtlingk: (pw. S. V.) Doubts that it is a confusion between *paurusa* - 'virility' and *parusya* - 'roughness' in the explanation. This is possible, but one can also think of a transition from the meaning of 'tip' (not witnessed) to that of 'virility.' (i.e. fullness of the age of a male) analogous to that which took place for ακμη; in this case χαρμη and karma would basically be the same word.

²⁶ <http://www.makedonski.info/search/rovita>, <http://www.makedonski.info/search/rovka>

²⁷ See examples of assimilation in the mode of articulation in Revue des Etudes Anciennes XXXVII (1935) 159 ff. Another example: in Rome it is said to deceive for 'vassooio', and this deception is nothing other than the French cabaret.

become voiced as for example low Franconian *th*, *e* and *f* that have become *d*, *e*, *v*. But the one-word building seems a little too cumbersome for such a tenuous base. First of all, there is no lack of counter-examples: αβαρκνα (if the explanation given by us § 2 is correct) and δρωψ (if it is a Macedonian word, see § 2) show that the first of two successive MA can appear as M in Macedonian: if we find αβαρκνα with K, that is, it can only mean that the presumable group -gn- was pronounced as guttural more nasal, whereas what the “*Greeex*” wrote γν was really a *nn* (G. Meyer, Gr. Gr. 364)²⁸; and the *p* of Δροπιδις will be due to the deafening before *s* in the nominative δρωψ as well as to the analogy of names like gr. Δερδ-ωπιδης. Second, to find the Macedonians possessing the same change as their Thracian and/or Illyrian neighbors must make us somewhat wary of a theory which considers this change to have occurred in different ways and independently in neighboring territories.²⁹ But what makes me even more incredulous, is the fact that the type κεβαλη (i.e. words with the following of two syllables, one with T and the other with M from ancient MA ie.) Is not found only in Macedonian, but returns in “*Greek*”. But before going into this topic, I have to touch on some explanations advanced by Kretschmer about κεβαλη. In an earlier time this scholar had thought that κεβαλη was a Greek loan pronounced in the Macedonian style. This hypothesis was taken up by W. Beschewliew, ‘Die Glosse KEBAΛΗ’, Sofia 1930, but and by Kretschmer rejected Gl. XXI 162. And indeed, without saying anything else, he wonders why the Macedonians should have pronounced κεβαλη for κεφαλη, and not rather *Kepala. If anything, we should think of the influence of the “*Greek*” word on Macedonian γαβαλα o similar (today 'glava' in plain Macedonian)³⁰, with the result of a compromise form κεβαλη. But this explanation would be false, because it would isolate the form in question from a complex in which it falls, as we shall see. Now Kretschmer puts forward another theory (Gl. XVI 143; compare to Gl. XXI 162, XXII 100 ff.), According to which the Macedonian would have known a dissimilation of the Aspirates, like the “*Greek*” and the Indian, but when they were sonorous: “the Macedonian M was however reproduced by the “*Greeex*” partly with their M, partly with their T, perhaps because the Macedonian sound was intermediate between the two, something like a sonorous forte: thus καναδοι = γνθοι, κονβους = γνοφους [Gl. XXII 101 adds αρκον = αργον, κραβατος - grabatus: Illyrian: *graboς*] and therefore also κεβαλ- in place of *geb(h)al-*”. In the article by Gl. XXII the thing is more exactly described as the result of a kind of consonant rotation analogous to the Germanic one (and even more to the Armenian one) for which, the ancient MA becoming M, the ancient M would at least start to become T.

5. But it is also true that for M ie. the Macedonian has T, or at least that the “*Greeex*” often make T the Macedonian continuation of M ie.? I give here a collection of examples in which we find written M for M ie. (and “*Greek*”):

αβλον σπενδε – M. and α[β]λογει σπεισον M.: αποβλυω (Hfm. 99 ff.)

Αγερος – Proper name according to Hfm.139 adjective of αγεροχως, in any way: αγειρω.

αγημα – the guard of the Macedonian kings (Macedonian 'ready' word? compare Hfm.85 ff): αγω οδ τιεομαι.

²⁸ Less likely and that it is a passage gn> kn, cf. § 6 regarding καναδοι.

²⁹ This is what Kretschmer Gl rightly observes. XVI.173: It would be difficult to separate the Macedonian M (βερε in βερενικη) from those of Phrygian (αβερετ), Slavic (*vera*) and Germanic (Got. *bairan*).

³⁰ <http://www.makedonski.info/search/glava>

Αιγαί – the Macedonian name of Εδδεσα: αιγες κυματα (and αιξ αιγος, see IF LIII 33 ff.).

Αργεας, Αργαιος transcription of the original Αεγειας – Proper name: αργαντα Pind., Αργυρος etc .. cfr. Hfm 121. 132 ff., Αργιπους, § 11 I.

Αριδαιος – Compound proper noun (for the first term see Solmsen IF VII 47 n. I) with --δαιος of gr. Θρασυδαιος etc. (Hfm. 135 et seq.).

Αυδυναιος, Αυδυναιος (once Αυτυ-) – Name of month, November-December; probably 'Rainy', therefore with u d n- υδωρ, υδα-τος (a from n), osco u t u r abl. une.

βαβρεν – cf. § 2.

Βοραιος – Proper name: Βορεας (: φερω according to Hfm. 148 ff.).

Βοτρης – Proper name: βοτρυς (Hfm. 150).

γαρκαω ραβδον – M.: γαρρα ραβδος (without ethnic) and γαρσανα φρθγανα. Κρητες, moreover γερρον etc., cf. Walde-Pokorny I 609. Perhaps the -ka is diminutive suffix, unless k is misspelled.

Γανανης – Proper name, perhaps: Αγανος (Hfm: 129).

γοδα εντερα – M. = ai. gudam (Lat. budela) - 'intestine' (Hfm. 49).

Γορνος – Proper name: γοργος.

γυαλας ειδος ποτηριου παρα – M.: γυαλος (Hfm. 71).

Γυγαια – Proper name: Γυγα 'Αθηνα εγχορις etc. (Hfm. 217 ff.); it is perhaps a "Mediterranean" voice, which must therefore be reunited with the name of Γυγης etc.

Γοπας κολοιους – M.: γοπας = γοδα: gudam (Lesny KZ XLII 297).

Δαδον – Proper name (Hfm. 146); despite the note 42 of Hfm., to be reconnected with the micrasian names Δαδα etc.

Δαισιος – Name of a month / deity: gr. Θειδαισιος id. etc., compare Hfm. 104; the base is the same as in:

δαιτας μεριστας, ως οι – M. φασιν Cyrill. compare Hfm. 79: δαιομαι.

δαρυλος'η δρυς υπο – M.: δρυς etc. (Hfm. 41 seq.).

Διος – Name of a month = gr. θεος, ai. *divya-*. With the same theme *diu- compare.

ινδεα μεσημβρια – M. = gr. ενδια μεσημβρια, ενδιος etc. (Hfm. 64).

Λαγος – Proper name from ΛαFo.αγος (Hfm. 154).

Λενγαια – Name of an ile [I - '1st' + le - votive particle]³¹, perhaps 'the one that breaks (the enemy front)' (compare Hfm.86 ff.): ai. *rujati* - 'breaks' etc., root *leug-, compare Walde-Pokorny II 412 ff.

Μισγων - Proper name: μισγω Hfm. 150.

³¹ <http://www.makedonski.info/search/le>

Περδικας - Proper name: περδιξ.³²

σκοιδος σκενοφυλαξ (Hfm. 83 ff.) – The Hfm. recognized in this word a compound with -Fido-; the first part of it would be σκο- from σκε [v] δο = σκευος, which is also impossible because s remains internal (§ 10 II). I think of an older form *skou-i-uido-s with *skoui- 'treasure': σκευνος with apophony or in front of the suffix -i as in τροχις, ορχις, etc.³³

ταγοναγα Μακεδονικη τις αρχε – Hfm. 77 thinks that we should read ταγον αγα; perhaps this is not necessary, and ταγον-αγα is a compound having as its second member a *nomen agentis* in -a (type νεφεληγερετα - agricultural) and the first regularly declined as δικα[v]σπολος < δικανς πελειν, etc., compare Brugmann II, 4, 102; Wackernagel Ai Gr. II, I, 45 ff. One way or another we have ταγο-: ταγηναι, αγ-: αγω.

Against this thick array of forms with M from ancient M (even if the personal names are excluded), the following can be adduced:

αρκον σχολην – M. which is usually considered equal to the “Greek” αργος, that is αεργος (compare Hfm. 64 ff.). Against this confrontation it is difficult to oppose³⁴: but v. Blumenthal, Hesychst. 24 ff. he believes it is a tendency to mute the M (and vice versa) in the vicinity of liquids and nasals, which he traced in the Doric dialects. It would be a Doric-Macedonian isoglossal: compare on this § 8.

Ατακιννος – one of the witnesses in the pact between the Athenians and Perdiccas CIA [42, d2: SZr. Αταγινος (Hfm. 149)]. This form appears only once.

6. The glosses καναδοι, σιαγονες, γναθοι (evidently: γναθο) and κομβους οδοντας γομφιους (: γομφος) are adespotes. Wishing to attribute them to Macedonian, can be afflicted by the muteness in vicinity of the nasal in καναδοι, compare the said for αρκον, which also takes place elsewhere, namely in the Attic: γναφενς, κναφενς (Lesny KZ XLII 297). But these two words³⁵ present as κεβαλη the particularity of possessing in the second syllable an M from MA. And with this we return to the case κεβαλη which in our opinion is indissoluble from similar phenomena which can be observed in “Greek” words.

There are indeed some “hellenic” words in which Indoeuropean MA is continued by M. Forms such as καλυβη: καλυπτω, βεβρεγμαι: βρεχω, εκρυβεν: κρυπτω are plausibly explained as analogical by H. Osthoff, ‘Zur Geschichte des Perfects im Indogermanischen’ (1884) pp. 298-317. Removed these and some other forms for which the proposed (“Greek”) etymology is

³² I doubt very much that in this and similar names (Αριμμας, Τωρδιμμας, Κερδιμμας, Οφελλας, Περιλλος, Βερεκκας...), one always has to see the short abbreviation of bi-member names; for example Περδικας and Αριμμας (the latter Etruscan-Mediterranean Αριμος - monkey) could very well be Latin-type names. Verres, Porcius, Asinius, etc.

³³ The form without ‘s’ of the root *skeu- ‘hide, cover’ perhaps in κωσια, the name of a headdress (cf. Hfm. 55 ff.). Compare to “Skrie” in plain Macedonian: <http://www.makedonski.info/search/skrie>

³⁴ One moment I had the idea that it was a word equal to ai *arkah* - 'ray' (that the root is erk- with e-, Walde-Pokorny I 147, and anything but sure), and the semantic relationship would be the same as that of καυμα and Italian *Calma*, French *chomer* etc., Meyer-Lubke, ‘Romaniscnes Etymologisches Wörterbuch’, 1779.

³⁵ And so also κραβατος if really Macedonian and if the Kretschmer is right to compare it with Illirian(?): γραβος.

wrong, there are still some words with “Greek” M for Indoeuropean MA of Curtius's list, Grundzuge der Griechischen Etymologie, the edition II 104 ff., and this is:

βρεμβος, εμβρυον, Hesychius: βρεφος.

θαμβος: ταφος.

θρομβος: γαλα τρεφεται τροφαλις – 'fresh cheese'.

πυνδας: πυθμεν compare Latin: *fundus* etc.,

perhaps also λαμβανω ελαβον (lamvano elaon) to create ληασον etc.: ειλεφα (σεσλαφα); another possibility see at Walde-Pokorny II 707.³⁶

To these words must also be added, according to J. Schmidt, ‘Kritik der Sonantentheorie’ (1895), 65: ατεμβω - 'to deceive': ai. *dabh-noti* - 'deceives'.³⁷

παρ-τετυμβει παραφρονει ημαρτεκεν – Hesychius; got. Dumbs - 'fool', compare also τυφλω, τυφλω³⁸ also, closely related with κεβαλη, some words that Hfm.50 gathers and that it would be bold to consider as Macedonian of origin: κεβληπυρις - a name of bird³⁹, Arist. Aves 303; κεβληγονος - 'born of the head' (Athena) Euphorion, attribute of the poppy Nicander Alexiph. 433; κεβλη - 'head' Callimachus (quotations from the scholiasts to the place of Nicander); κεβλος, κυνοκεφαλος κεπος, and κεβληη η οριγανος - Hesychius. Finally: πυργος, see below.

Now, in these words we can distinguish two groups, after eliminating βρεμβος which is easily explained as the result of an assimilation in the initials of the two syllables, both labial (the case would be analogous to that of Latin: *barba* for *farba: anord. *Bard*, etc.); the first group includes the voices that preserve the Aspirate of the initial syllable: θαμβος,, θρομβος, ληασων (later λαμβανω etc. with λ-); in the second the voices whose not aspirated initial is muted as normally happens when the consonant of the second syllable it retains the aspiration (case θριχοξ, θριξ), that is: αθεμβλω, κεβλη-, παρτετυμβει, πυνδαξ, πυργος.

For the first group the explanation seems obvious to me. These are ancient dissimilations between the two Aspirates, which occurred before the normal dissimilation known under the

³⁶ But θυμβρα goes with θυμος and ai. *dhumrah* - 'gray-black', κορυμβος with ai. *crngam* - 'horn'; for κυμβε etc. compare Walde-Pokorny I 375 ff.; ομβρος has ancient v as the Armenian *amph* - 'cloud' and ai. *amvun* - 'water', also for στεμβω, στοβεω next to αστεμφες there are forms with v in other IE languages. Walde-Pokorny II 623 ff. Finally in στρεβλος etc. against στρεφω it must deal with various radical determinatives, compare also στρογυλος etc. and Lat. *stringo*, *strebula* (v. Walde, ‘Lateinisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch’, 2nd edition, s. vv.).

³⁷ To an original *dhabh-* he mentions the desirable *dhipsati* J.B.; however, but, note the common Vedic form of the desirative, *dipsati*, and also the Vedic desiderative form *dipsu-* with d-. The explanation of these forms is given by Wackernagel Ai. Gr. I 126 (dissimilation in *dhibzh*); however, the question remains whether the *dh- di dhipsati* can be considered a testimony of the ancient state of the things or it's only analogue. The Armenian *davel* that Wackernagel ib. 125 (Arm. *d* presupposes IE *Dh!*) And I suspect to be a loan from Persia, unless the root contained anciently -a- (in which case ατεμβω with ε would be difficult to explain): compare Hubschmann, ‘Armenische Grammatik’ (1897) I 138.

³⁸ Μ. τυμβογερων εσχατογερως, και παρηλαγμενος τη διανοια. Hesychius it probably has τυμβος - 'grave': it is an old decrepit mentally weakened. Anche τον γεροντα τυμβον Eur. Med. 1209 means in all probability 'Eye close to death', 'walking tomb', and it must be a daring solution of the compound τυμβογερων.

³⁹ <http://www.makedonski.info/search/kelepur>

name of Grassmann's Law and before the MA passed to TA; so, for example θαμβος would go back to a *dhambos for *dhambhos.⁴⁰ If λαβθων is really to be considered as the other two entries, the aspiration of S- in *slab- should be even older than the dissimilation, and we would obtain the following relative chronology:

1. Aspiration of initial S- (at least in sl-);
2. Sporadic dissimilation;
3. MA > TA;
4. Grassmann's Law.

It is remarkable that in all three cases it is a nasal one (for the root λαβ-, in the present λαμβανο), and this may have represented a push to accomplish dissimilation by lightening the second syllable in a certain way. However, if we are right to consider the case of ραθαγος to be similar, the importance of the nasal in the dissimilation process is diminished.

7. In ατεμβω, κεβαλη, παρτετυμβει, πυνδαξ, πυργος things went differently: here, as in the Macedonian forms κεβαλη etc., we find a phenomenon analogous to that of the Gypsy language on which first to draw attention was G. J. Ascoli KZ XVII 243, ff., and precisely, while the ancient M remains unchanged in the beginning and in the middle of a word⁴¹ and the ancient MA generally becomes TA in the beginning⁴², M in the middle of a word⁴³, the forms in which a

⁴⁰ Perhaps also παθαγος - Pagliaro, 'On the Latins from Sicily' (Bologna 1934) 4 - it falls into this group of words; Sicilian colleague *ragatu* - 'stridula moribundi respiratio 'with παθαγος ταραχος ηχος, τορυβως ψοφος. Hesychius: here a metathesis of the consonants took place in the last two syllables. For παθαγος Walde-Pokornny II 704 think of a connection with *potoς* etc.: it would stand for *ροθαγος with assimilation of *o* to *a* of the following syllable in oblique cases. The proximity of παθαγος - ταραχος in the Hesychian gloss seems more effective to me. Ταραχος goes with τρασω (Walde-Pokornny I 862), so it once sounded *θαραχος; if we admit the possibility of a metathesis in the first two syllables, analogous to that which occurred in the Sicilian loan and perhaps aided by the existence of ροθος our ραθαγος instead of the expected ραταχος from -dhaghos, it would provide us with a case similar to θαμβος, etc. However, the possibility of a second metaplasms always remains: παθαγος λαλαγη etc., or perhaps both causes contributed to the rise of ραθαγος.

⁴¹ Compare *angar* - 'coal'*: ai. *angara-*, gave 'do': ai. *da-*, *deš* - '10': ai. *dača, devel* - 'God': ai. *deva-, dikava* - 'see': ai. *drkš-, dives* - 'day'; ai. *divasa-, doš* - 'harm'; ai. *doša, dui* - '2': ai. *dva, dur* - 'far'; ai. *dura-, džanava* - 'I know'; ai. *janami, dženo* - 'man'; ai. *jana-, dživava* - 'alive'; ai. *jivami, gab* - 'village'; ai. *grama-, gijevava* - 'song'; ai. *gayami, ladž* - 'shame'; ai. *laija, bala* - particle for the formation of the superlative; ai. *bala-* 'force' (compare French *force* in the same use), *šing* - 'horn'; ai. *crnga*, etc. etc. Note the k. in *jak* - 'fire': ai. *agni-*: deafening forward n, compare § 6?

* see also *Gar* - 'char soot, lampblack' in plain Macedonian:

<http://www.makedonski.info/search/gare%D0%86>

⁴² Compare *kham* - 'sun'; ai. *gharma* - 'warm', *khas* - 'hay' *; ai. *ghasa-, phagava* - 'I break'; ai. *bhanj, pharo* - 'weight'; ai. *bhara-, phen* - 'sister'; ai. *bhagini, phenava* - 'I speak'; ai. *bhanami, phral* - 'brother'; ai. *bhratr-, phuv* and *phub* - 'earth'; ai. *bumi-, them* - 'country, region, kingdom'; ai. *dhaman-, thovava* - 'lavo'; ai. *dhavami, thub* and *thuv* ** - 'smoke'; ai. *dhuma-* etc. etc. But sometimes we have the M in *bacht* - 'luck': ai. *bhaktam* (or from the pers, *baxt?*), *bašava* - 'bark'; ai. *bhaš-, bokh* - 'hunger'; ai. *bubhukša* (here the b- can be that of the first syllable).

* *Klas* - 'wheat grain' in plain Macedonian: <http://www.makedonski.info/search/klas>

** *Duva* - 'blows' in plain Macedonian: <http://www.makedonski.info/search/duva>

syllable with M was followed by one with MA now have M in the middle of word, normally, but in initial position TA (or T): *čang* - 'knee': ai. *jangha*, *čib* - 'linqua'; ai. *jihva khandava* - 'I send a bad smell'; ai. *gandha* - 'smell'; *kher* - 'home', ai. *grha*; *pracrit*: *geha-*, *phandava* - 'lego': ai. *bandh-*, *thud* - 'milk': ai. *dugdha*, etc. Ascoli speaks of metathesis aspirations, but it seems doubtful to me: first of all, if the consonant of the second syllable was a TA, normally it has lost the aspiration without passing it to the first syllable (*duk* - 'pain': ai. *duhkha-*, *kašt-* 'wood': ai. *kaštha*; apparent counter-example *phučava* - 'I ask': ai. *prcchami*) and secondly instead of initial T often appears TA, without forgetting the reason (*phak* - 'wing'; ai. *pakša-*, *pherava* - 'to fill'; ai. *pr-*, *phuro* - 'old'; ai. *pura* - 'olim' next to *pureno* - 'old'; ai. *purana-* etc.; hence also *phučava* = *prcchami*). The ratio of the phenomenon has already been mentioned by me in Italia Dialectale IX (1933) 7 n.: in these words was felt the difference between M and MA of the two close syllables as something essential for their physiognomy, and when the second has started to be an M, the first has in a certain way escaped the adaptation by moving towards the T(A). Thus the process which Kretschmer presupposes as the rule of the Germanic and Armenian phonetic system (this is already with Curtius, Grundzuge of the 'Griechischen Etymologie, 3rd ed., 393) took place here in the context of the single word⁴³, as - and for this I agree with the Professor from Vienna - the difference in the way of articulation of the two consonants in the subsequent syllables can be traced back to an older difference that could not be constituted by anything else than a lack of aspiration in the first syllable. The postulable **gebhala* **bundhak-* have been subject to the MA > M passage, and consequently the M of the first syllables became deafened. This means that the Macedonian also experienced the dissimilation of the Aspirates (Grassmann's Law) like the ancient Indian and the "Greek"; and if that occurred in connection with those, it is not necessary here to examine.

In his article 'Nordische Lehnwörter im Altgriechischen', Gl. XXII 100 ff. Kretschmer assumed that πυργος, περγαμος, and πυνδας, are words of Nordic, Germanic, or Celtic origin, spelled phonetically from Macedonian and from this passed into "Greek". Abstracting from περγαμος, on whose indeoeuropeanity I have serious doubts (see Sundwall, Die einheimischen Namen der Lykier (1913) 185), I find that the northern origin of these words is highly hypothetical. Since the dissimilation of aspirates presupposed by Kretschmer himself in these words must have occurred in Macedonian territory, that is to say that in this territory the words have reached the MA intact; so from the phonetic side there is nothing that shows us the Germanic or Celtic origin of the words themselves, except the u of πυργος, which Kretschmer would like to bring back to the root bhergh (hence ur < r). But first of all this etymology is anything but sure; and in the second place, we know that r has at times assumed a timbre u even outside the Germanic etc., cf. Brugmann I 453 ff. Moreover, there is no cultural-historical evidence in favor of Kretschmer's hypothesis; and that the "Greek" must have imported the word πυργος to designate something quite different from what it should have designated to the alleged exporters (in "Greece" the 'tower', in Europe a 'fortified enclosure'), sounds slightly fantastic.

⁴³ Compare *lubevava* - 'gives vent to lust', *lubni* - 'harlot' *: ai. *lubh* and examples for ancient sequel M-MA. The Š of *maška* - 'between' **: ai. *madhyam* id. and due to the following T.

* Lubi - 'desires, wants' in plain Macedonian: <http://www.makedonski.info/search/%D1%99ubi>

** Meša - 'mixes, intromits' and Megyu 'between' in plain Macedonian:

<http://www.makedonski.info/search/mema>

⁴⁴ And therefore it was not of radical application, as αβαρκνα § 2 shows: and Βυργινος, on which see below.

Finally, the loan hypothesis for ατεμβω-, παρτετυμβει is absolutely to be discarded. All these words therefore belong firmly to the “Greek”, where ατεαβε and πυργος are introduced by Homer, πυνδας appears first with Ferecates, then Aristophanes, Theophrastus and Aristotle (*Problemata*). The word πυνδας comes back to Sophocles with a completely different meaning from the usual one (fr. 291 Dindorf, from the word 'Απυνδακοτως of Hesychius): Σοφοκλης εν Ιφιγενεια πυνδακα του ξηφολυς "the ηφους" probably the ηφλυς "the sword φηνανανα τανα τηφλυς" but this catechesis indicates enough that it is not an Attic voice, and the scarcity of witnesses and at the same time its first appearance in a comedian make me think that we are dealing with a dialect voice; dialectal and παρτετυμβει with the apocope of the preposition. In short, I believe that here we have terms coming from northern “Greece” (Thessaly) from which πυργος and ατεμβω have come, as part of the Aeolian lexical background, to Homer.

8. Now, Kretschmer has repeatedly hinted that "a part of the northern “Greek” dialects possibly participated in the position of Macedonian about the M for Aspirate (compare Tessalian Ottolobos = οκτωλοφος, Βοιβηις = Φοιβηις, Αμβρυσος = Αφρομος εφροσος poi) and replaced them with TA after it approached to other “Greek” dialects "(Gl. XVI 173). I would rather say that in Thessaly two phonetic waves collided: the northern one which imported the de-aspiration of the ancient MA, and the southern “Panhellenic” one for which the MA became TA. The words quoted so far, and πυργος, etc. in which the de-aspiration and the deafening of the first syllable also took place in perfect agreement with what took place in Macedonian, are relics of the northern wave forced to withdraw from the more powerful breakthrough of the southern one, which reinvigorated the formation of a Panhellenic nationality; to the north the ancient MA had already become M, and that, together with the greater gravitation of Macedonia towards the north of the Balkan peninsula, prevented the further spread of the southern wave. We therefore have here the characteristic formation of an isoglossal boundary following the diffusion of two innovations in contrasting senses; those who have notions of Romanism immediately think of the Gallo-Roman isoglosses encountered in the so-called Franco-Provençal, the phenomena of uncertainty and the wrecks that can be observed in that area.

That the de-aspiration of the MA must have reached Northern “Greece” not long before 1000 BCE I have shown in Studies 591 no. 1; 598, to which I refer. Moreover, it is known that even the Doric dialects have traces (the so-called Illyrianisms) of the same phenomenon, and this is easily explained by admitting that, at the time of the Doric immigration (?), The passage of MA into M was reaching these populations, which, however, entered “Greece” with the MA largely intact and deafened back in their historic homeland, in agreement with the other “Greek” dialects. If it is recalled that the Dorians are considered by Erodot (Lat. *Herodotus*) as an originally Macedonian population [I.86 (“το Δωρικον γενος ... οικει εν Πινδω Μακεδονον καλεομενον” - VIII.42 "(Λαλδιοιοιοιονο. .Τροιζηνιοι ...) εοντες ουτοι ... Δωρικον το και Μακεδονον εθνος εξ Ερινεου τε και Πινδου και της Δρυοπιδος υστατα ορμητεντες" compare these toponomastic arguments put forward by Hatzidakis KZ XXXVII 153 ff.), it is done to think that actually the Doric tribes inhabited next to Macedonian and Thessalian ones, hence the common beginning of de-aspiration of M and some other Doric-Macedonian isoglosses: one, the tendency to confuse T and M in the vicinity of liquids and nasals, has been adduced above § 5; another and that to weaken the intervocalic g, widespread in Doric and witnessed by the Macedonian form Τραιλος, of a toponym next to Τραιγιλος, from δρηες στρουθοι. M. next to δρηξ στρουτος, Cyril (see Blumental. Heszchst. 26 ff.); finally the Macedonian dialect of the neo-“Greek” has forms that return to ancient or modern Doric territory, thus γλεπω: dor. ant. ποτιγλεποι (see Blumenthal op. cit. 21), forms with α for Panhellenic η as λανος - 'palmento' (till

now, as well as in neomacedonian, in Cerigo and Bova), ξυαλα - 'knife', μακους - 'poppy'⁴⁵ (Rohlfs, Linguistic Excavations in Magna Greece, 1933, 154 n.1)⁴⁶ compare the toponym Αιγαι, properly 'waters': dor. αιγες κυματα.

9. If in the incipient de-aspiration of the MA and especially in the case κεβαλη we have an isogloss, at least initial, Macedono-Thessalic, there are numerous isoglosses that embrace these two languages and, in general, the so-called Aeolian dialects, isoglosses already detected by a piece:

I) Apocope of the preposition, compare Macedonian εδεατρος; αβλοη § 5; ασπιλος, 'χειμαρρος υπο M.: απο and σπιλος (Hfm. 39 and compare Hfm. II 4).

II) Tendency to place or instead of nasal a forward, cf. Macedonian κομαραι η κομαραι καριδες. M.; gr. καμμαροι from *kmm-, German Hummer (see Kluge, Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache, II-a. ed. s. v. against the difficulties raised by Hfm. 48 ff.; the latter notes the affinity of the phenomenon with the wind power).

III) Double liquid or nasal as a result of the meeting of liquid or nasal with *s*, *i*, or between them, compare with Macedonian *rs* Αρραβαιος - proper name: Ερραφεωτας, ai. *rsabhabah* - 'bull' (Solmsen IF VII 47 n.1), βιρρος, § 2, κορραιος - proper name, perhaps from Κορσ- (Solmsen ibid.), Δαρον - proper name; θαρσος with ls Macedonian toponym Πελλα: German *Fels*, compare πελλα λιθος, and Walde-Pokorny II 66; with Macedonian *sn* Κοραννος⁴⁷ - proper name = gr. Καρανος < καρασ- (Solmsen loc.cit.); Κρατενας - proper name: κρατος (Hfm. 149); with *ri* Κορραγος - proper name from 'Kori-ag-: gr. Κοιρανος and formed as Λαγος § 5, compare Krahe ARW XXX 99; for *ni* compare Κυννα - proper noun (and Κυννανη) from *kun-ia (which has the Hfm. 219 ff. is impossible).⁴⁸

IV) Passage from *ō* to *u*, compare Macedonian κυνουπευς, αρκτος M.: gr. κυοπ- (Hfm. 43); ακρουνοι, οροι υπο M.: gr. ακρων 'the extremity of the limbs', ακρωνια Aesch. Eum. 188 'mutilation of the extremities'.⁴⁹

V) Preposition *iv* = *ev*, compare ινδεα § 5.⁵⁰

⁴⁵ <http://www.makedonski.info/search/mak>

⁴⁶ Fick BB XXIV 299 also notes: "We find the full name corresponding to Δωριευς in the Notizia of Stephanus the Byzantine (between Δουρα and Δουσαρη), Δουριοπος πολις Μακεδονιας. Στραβον εβδομη, ουτως και η χωρα. In Strabone 7, 326 the editions have Δευριοπος [compare Δευριοπων 327] which must be modified according to the passage of Stephanus the Byzantine. The inhabitants of the city and the region were no doubt called Δουριοπες; ου is regularly pronounced according to the Macedonian pronunciation for ω (as in ακρουνοι) and, with its second part, Δουρι-οπες is inserted among the names of (later) Northellenic tribes Δολ-οπες, Δρυ-οπες, Ελλ-οπες. Also the form with ω is attested, and precisely at Stephanus the Byzantine s. v. Κυδραι, where Meineke writes but according to Strabo Δευριοπων, but the mss. they have τον Δω ... οπον, τον Δω ... (one has the conjecture Δολοπων), which in any case points at the original Δωριοπων.

⁴⁷ See also Κοραβος, preserved as toponym of Mt. Korab in Macedonia (again V → B transition).

⁴⁸ sm> mm we have perhaps in Ιμαρος, Ιμαραδος, if names originally Macedonians, Solmsen loc. cit.

⁴⁹ Viceversa δωραζ con ō, § 2.

⁵⁰ Perhaps Αραντισι, Ερινυσι, M., rather than being reported to αρα-Feντ (Hfm. 96) could be considered with the present participle Fick of a denominative of αρα, which would therefore be athematically conjugated as it happens in Aeolian (φιλημι ccc.).

10. Since these phenomena are hardly older than the passage of MA to M and respectively to TA, it seems to me to be able to conclude that linguistic communications between Macedonia and Thessaly remained alive even afterwards, leaving free transit to considerable phonetic innovations. Now, it is important that among these innovations that have crossed the “Greek”-Macedonian border there are some of a Panhellenic character, which I believe took place when the “Greex” were already in their historic seats, namely:

I) The disappearance of the digamma (Pelasgic)⁵¹, both in the beginning and in the word interior:

Αδινος – proper name, if: ηδυ ai. svadu- (Hfm. 143).

αορτης υπο Μ. αγγος δερματειον ιματιων: gr. α[F]ειρω (Hfm. 90).

Δανος, δανον, compare § 2.

Διος, ινδεα, compare § 5.

Εταιροι – the Macedonian nobles; Εταιριδεα - feast in honor of Δζενς Εταιρειος (Hfm. 77. 93) < *sue- or *se-, compare Walde-Pokorny II 457.

ιζελα, αγατη τυχη M. (thus handed down): from ancient Macedonian (Thracian-Ilyrian?) *Veselia*, Lat. *Felicitas*, Macedonic: *veselost* - 'happy'⁵² (M. Budimir, Revue internationale des Études Balkaniques, I. 281).

Λαγος – proper name <ΛαFo-αγος (Hfm. 154).

σκοιδος – compare § 5.⁵³

II) The disappearance (or aspiration) of initial *s*-; besides Αδιμος and σταιρος in I, compare to:

αλιη καπρος M. The Hfm. 43 proposes to see in -η the Macedonian ending for gr. -ηρ (compare αδη § 2), and in this case αλιη could be from the same root as Latin *salio*⁵⁴ in a sexual sense, for example in Varro RR II 7 Cum equus matrem ut saliret adduci non posset. As is known, the wild

⁵¹ the 6th letter of the early alphabet (F, φ), pronounced as “W” and substituted by “β”. It became obsolete in many ancient dialects before the Classical period. Via Latin from Koine Septuagint, from *di* ‘twice’ + *gamma* (because of the shape of the letter, resembling gamma (Γ) with an extra stroke).

⁵² https://recnik.off.net.mk/recnik/makedonski-angliski/%D0%B2%D0%81%D0%BB%D0%BE* ,
https://recnik.off.net.mk/recnik/makedonski-angliski/%D0%B2%D0%81%D0%BB%D0%BE%D1%81%D1%82* ; also a personal Macedonian name: <https://mk.linkedin.com/in/vesela-hristovska-b87426165>

⁵³ The apparent conservations of digamma (Lesny KZ XLI I 298 ff.) Are resolved very easily: αβαγναροδα, M. certainly has nothing to do with ααζο - 'to blow' (Fick KZ XXII 193; compare Hfm. 41 n. 9) and, in case, one can see in it a compound with a second member equal to the gr. αγνος - 'chaste tree' *; in αβρουFeς (if this is how the αβρουτες-οφρους M. of Hesychius is to be read), hoFav (if the legacy γοταν-υν M. and if this gloss refers to Macedonian) the F is the passage sound between u and the following consonant, not a continuation of the old *u*; compare *j* in Cypriotic ijatēpāv etc.

* Lat. *Vitex agnus-castus*, also called *vitex*, the chaste tree:

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Vitex_agnus-castus

⁵⁴ <http://etimo.it/?term=salire&find=Cerca>

boar and, like the bull and the goat, considered the male animal par excellence, cf. gr. καπρος, Lat. caper and ai. Kaprth- 'penis' (Walde-Pokorny 1348's doubt and unjustified), Lat. verres, ai. vrsah - 'bull' vrsan- 'vir' gr. αρσην.

hoFav - uv <• s u-m (Hfm. 44 with Nachtrag).

ραματα - βοτρυδια, σταφυλις. M .: gr. ραξ, Lat. fraquum (Hfm. 39 ff.).

ρουτο, σουτο (handed down τουτο). M .: ρεω ai. sravati - 'flows' (Δραγουμης).

In σιγυνη και σιγυννος τα δορατα παρα M. (properly short rods for hunting the cinquiale, see Hfm. 68 seq.) I would not be alien to seeing a compound of *sui- (as in *suinus*) or 'su (with u > I?) With a *guhno- of *guhen* - 'to kill' cf. ai. čatrughna il- 'hostium occisor' etc.; the labiovelar is delabialized for the development of a u, as in gr. γυνη next to βανα, μναομαι < *βνα. In this case the conservation of s- would be identical to that found in gr. συς next to υς. Vice versa in the interior of word s it remains: αλιζα, η λευκη το δενδρον; *aliza*, Slavic: *jelica* etc. (Barić 'Arhiv za arbanasku starinu, jezik i ethnografiju' III 221; Kretschmer Gl. XV 305)⁵⁵, and ιζελα (above, I). This does not mean that aspiration in the beginning of the word is not a unique phenomenon for the "Greek" and Macedonian, it would rather be fair to say that the innovation S > h (Σελλεν > Ηελλεν), which started from the South, only managed to penetrate Macedonia for the initial position, as well as, by way of example, the second German consonant rotation is subject to more and more restrictions as it proceeds toward north.⁵⁶

11. If these "Greek"- (Thessalian)-Macedonian isoglosses are relatively recent, perhaps not much older can be the one constituted by replacing a vowel or a timbre group a with ancient liquid or nasal sonorous, namely:

I) r> mac, ar, ra, as in Greek, cf.:

⁵⁵ Kretschmer also compares the Pontic Αλιζονες Hom. B. 856 E 39, and the name of Thessalian city 'Ολιζον B 717 with o- aeolian for α-. For 'Αλιζονες I have many doubts; according to Strabo XII, 3, 19.20 they are the later Χαλυβες and the fact that the city of Alizons is Αλυβη seems to point that we have here an element Ha1- which has nothing to do with Macedonian αλιζα. More probable is the thing for 'Ολιζων: but the fact that this name is in the catalog of ships is moreover in a terribly limping verse:

και Μελιβοιαν εχον και Ολιζωνα τρηχειαν,

does not entitle the Hatzidakis to claim that in Αλιζα the ζ is a σδ as he does in Gl. XXIII 268 ff. In this article the Hatzidakis does not refuse to recognize in αλιζα a correlative of *jelica* etc., but he wants to see in -ζα the well-known suffix of ριζα, φυζα, κονυζα, etc. But in these words the suffix e -ia, and the ζ is the result of the union with it of the radical -δ or -γ!

⁵⁶ Another isogloss would be di > z (through zd), if Hfm is right. 174 ff. to mean Σελευκος = Ζαλευκος with διε = δια-. Vowel prosthesis as in ι-στι we have perhaps in εστερικας: ους κυνας τη πατρωα φονη εστερικας καλουσιν οι - M .: ο δε ποιηηης τρας,. derived from a -ester (a?) - 'table': avest. stairiš - 'bed, couch', gr. στρομα, Lat. *stramen* from the root *ster- 'spread', compare from the parallel root *stel* (Walde - Pokorny II 643), Macedonic: *stolu* - 'chair': <http://www.makedonski.info/search/stol> (so there is no need to think about stha- 'stare' or stel- 'pose' with WP!). But this coincidence is so little provable for an eventualne connection such as that of the passage of m to b forward of liquid in αβαρυ, οριγανον εν Μακεδονια - αβροτονοв etc. ai. *amla* - 'acid' (Hfm. 40 ff.; however, the alternative is not to be resolutely rejected: ai. *aguru* - 'aloe') and in Βλιτωρ, proper name, if goes with μελι (Hfm. 205) as βλιττω, etc.

Αργιπους, 'αετος, M .: ai. rjipyah attribute of the falcon, avest. arezifya-, Armenian arciv 'eagle' etc., cf. Hfm. 45.

παραος αετος υποσ - M. perhaps from 'parauos' with ara <rra o * parna- from * prna-; ai. parnam slavic pero - 'pen' cf. πτερον for περον according to πτερυξ (Walde-Pokorny II 21); it can also be an older *pera- with assimilation of e to a in the following syllable.⁵⁷

Δαρον, Κρατεννας, perhaps Αρραβαιος compare § 9 III.

II) n > mac, a, as in gr., Perhaps in apKav if from 'a-l! Erqdr. § 5.

12. We now pass to the isoglosses which unite Macedonian with the languages spoken to the north and west of it. Many of which will always remain hidden from us, due to the little knowledge we have of the Thracian and Illyrian, and we must take this into account by evaluating the importance of the isoglosses known to us. However, a very important isoglossal is constituted by the passage of MA to M on which we have long spoken. A second is the tendency to replace o with a, in accordance with what happens in Illyrian;⁵⁸ compare:

αβρουFeς: gr. οφρυς compare § 10 I.

αξος-υλη υπο M. that Barić compared with Albanian ah - 'ash tree', gr. οξυη 'ash'.⁵⁹

In my opinion, a third isoglossal is important, which brings together the Macedonian Slavic neck and the Baltic against the other languages, with the exception of the Arian.⁶⁰ This is the nominative of masculine and feminine themes in r, which loses the final r only in the languages named (for Thracian I would not know how to say anything): cf. Macedonian αδη § 2, αλη § 10 II as ablg. mati, lit. dukte (and avest. mata ai. mata) versus gr. μητηρ, Armenian mayr, tocario pacar - 'father', osco futir - 'filia', (Macedonic kcer), Lat. mater ant. Irish mathir got. fadar - 'father' etc.

Also noteworthy is the simplification of consonant⁶¹ groups analogous to that which appears in Macedonic (*supno- > ablg. sunu, 'penquiti' < ablg. Peti, etc.), which we find in βαταρα δραμις

⁵⁷ <http://www.makedonski.info/search/pero>

⁵⁸ On an alleged similar fact in "Greek" compare Hfm. 51 n. 32.

⁵⁹ The Hfm. 38 compares with αξος the Homeric αξυλος υλη Λ 155; that αξυλος is a derivative of οξυη and goes with αξος and certainly a nice idea (the Hfm. sees it quite differently); but one should think that in this case we have a Macedonian word passed in Thessaly and from here reached Homer as aeolism.

⁶⁰ From Iranian of the Scythians in southern Russia the phenomenon passed to the Slavic, and from there spread to Europe. On relations between the Slavs and Iranians, compare my 'Slavic and Iranian' article in the Proceedings of the III International Congress of Linguists (1935) 371 ff.

⁶¹ It's perhaps due to a tendency of this kind the Svarabhakti in αβαρυ § 10, Αυδθναιος: next to Αυδναιος; § 5, δαρυλος § 5 (but see Celtic *Daru-* adduced by Hfm. 42), κυνουπευς § 9 IV etc., in the vicinity of liquids and nasals, which must be compared with the Russian 'polnoglasje' (gorod for -gordu, kolot for -kolti, etc.). And even with the tendency to simplify consonant groups, one can, with Blumenthal Hesychst. 21, explain σαρις(σ)α - δορυ μακρον, ειδος ακοντιου Ελληνικου, σπαθη βαρβαρικη. M. from *skr- of sker- 'to cut' (*Skroi/skroe* and/or *skrati* - 'to shorten' in plain Macedonian: <http://www.makedonski.info/search/skroe>). But Blumenthal undoubtedly goes too far when it attributes the adespote σαραβος το γυναικειον αιδοιον next to καραβος υπο M. η πυλη. Blumenthal himself reconstructs (in the footsteps of Hfm. 87) a form *sqru-entia from which a passage of *ti* to *s* as in

εδεατρος § 2 ραματα § 10 II, perhaps also λακεδαμα - υδωρ αλμυρον αλσι πεποιημενον ο πινουσιν οι των Μακεδονον αγροιχοι, if the second part of the word goes with att. σχοροδ-αλμη - 'the' salted garlic soup' (Hfm. 73; compare Blumenthal Hesychst 41, who offers a brilliant but poorly founded explanation for the first part).⁶²

Finally, it is curious that in a adespote glosses, but attributable to Macedonian for the combination of two characteristic phenomena of this language such as labialization of the labiovelars (§ 14) and the de-aspiration of the MA (§ 2), namely νιβα-χιονα και κρηνην, we find two different words that both are find together only in Iranian and Macedonic - Avestan: *snaežana* - 'slobbering' (literally 'with snow-like foam') and *snaežana* - 'caressing' as ablg. *snežinu* - 'snowy' and *nežinu* - 'caressing', the latter having a meaning 'wet, greasy' which testifies to the ai. with its root *snih-* (i.e. *sneg*)⁶³ and which is the basis of νιβα-χιονα και κρηνην (see Journal of Oriental Studies XV, 1935, 364).

A very wide isoglosses which includes, in addition to "Greek" and Macedonian, also Armenian-Phrygian, Balto-Slavic, Germanic and Celtic, and the final passage of -m to -n: we have it in Macedonian forms such as αρχον, hoFav, etc.

13. We have thus framed Macedonian in a series of isoglosses that unite it on the one hand to "Greece", on the other to Illyrian and Thracian and through these to the Balto-Slavic. Since a language is not something immobile and static, but it is a continuously renewing ενεργεια and therefore we can only talk about the aspects assumed by a language at a given moment, we can say that Macedonian as it is represented by the glosses handed down from antiquity , ie in the period ca. 500-200 a. C, has some characteristic features common in part with "Greek", in part with other languages, just as Greek has some common with Armenian and Iranian, Slavic with Baltic and Germanic as well as Iranic, and so on. The difference, both in that, that at a certain moment the Slavic, Greek, Baltic, Germanic nations were consolidated around a center and isolated, so that a certain sum of isoglosses came to be, as a whole, property only of 'one or the other of them, giving it that unmistakable character which means that we can speak of "Greek", Slavic, Germanic, Baltic dialects with certainty of justice: on the other hand, Macedonian at a certain point in its evolution was too exposed to "Greek" influence, and the Macedonians interrupted the formative process of a nation in its own right, to assume "Sellenic/Hellenic" nationality, so that their language was shipwrecked in the "Greek" in which it ended up dissolving. This does not mean that in the period for which we have documents the Macedonian did not have its own physiognomy: de-aspiration of the MA, labialization of the labiovelars and conservation as guttural of the palatals ie. (§ 14), ai > a forward consonant (in αδη, αδραι § 2) are characteristics which are simultaneously found only in Macedonian. If we consider how scarce is the material on which our knowledge of that language is based, we will have to conclude that the Macedonian monarchy was successful, up to the time of Alexander, to centralize enough the subjected tribes to it and to create a Macedonian nationality sufficiently defined to form a language so distinct from the neighboring.

14. Having reached this point of our research, we ask ourselves the question: can we go further and push our gazes into that period of formation of the Macedonian language, when the ancestors

"Greek" should be inferred - all very hypothetical. The passage in question can instead be inferred from Δαισιος § 5.

⁶² "Luk-da-maka" - 'Garlic-to-dip' in plain Macedonian:

⁶³ <http://www.makedonski.info/search/snug>

of the Macedonians were not yet in their historical locations, surrounded by “*Greex*”, Illyrians, Thracians? I believe that the history of the IE guttural, in Macedonian is decisive in this sense; not so much that of the ancient palatals, since the conservation of these as occlusive⁶⁴ can only have a negative value (of non-belonging, that is to the wave of assibilation), as that of the ancient biovelari. For which we have the following examples:

Qu > labial sounds: βαβρην, § 5; βιρροξ, § 2;⁶⁵ Γορπιαιος, § 2; Κοπρια, Κοπρυλος, v. above; νιβα, § 12.

Sounds *qu* are palatalized in front and: ζερεθρον, § 3; Τελεσιας Μακεδονικε δ'εστιν αυτη ορχεσις, η χρησαμενοι οι περι Πτολεμαιον Αλεξανδρον τον Φιλιππου ανειλον, ως ιστορει Μαρσυας εν τριτω Μακεδονικων: τελεσις according Hfm. 91 ff., Therefore: ai. *carats* etc.⁶⁶

Now, the labialization of the ancient Labiovelars is common to Macedonian, as well as with (Semitic) “*Greex*”, also with Oscan-Umbrian and Celtic, and there is no doubt that it is an identical and unique phenomenon that occurred when these languages were still bordering.⁶⁷ In Studies 599 ff. I thought that this and other isoglosses had communicated from one to another of the languages in question when the Osco-Umbrians, invaded the Po valley from the East, and maintaining contact with the “*Greex*” and Macedonians to the East, came to meet in Italy with the Indo-European Ligurians, the vanguard of the Gaul/Kelts; now the Nehring, IF LIV 275, believes that the thing must've been even more ancient, to which it seems to me they oppose

⁶⁴ See αβαρκνα, § 2: ακραια.παις θηλεια υπο M. (Hfm. 62 with impossible etymology) perhaps: ακηρατος 'intact, virgin', ai. *crnati* - 'breaks, destroys'; ακρουνοι § 9 1V: compare ai. *ačrih* - 'cut'. arm. *aseln* - 'needle' etc.; αργιπους, § 11 I; κομαραι § 9 II: ai. *čambu*, *čambuka* - 'shell'; κικεροι ωχροι. M. (handed down κιβεροι ωχροι M.; see also Hfm. 57), Latin: *cicer* (Δραγοθμις) and arm. *sisern*, Κοπρια Npr., Κοπρυλος id: gr. Κοπρος, ai. *čakrt*, (*koqur-*) Hatzidakis IF XI 316. (Κοπρια can also be = Κυπρια).

⁶⁵ Labial from labiovelar forward *i* is normal also in “*Greex*”, compare Studies 600.

⁶⁶ But ασπρις - 'fruitless oak', if Macedonian word (Hfm. 42) it should not be confronted with ασκα δρυς ακαρπος (Hfm.), but perhaps goes with σπειρω, σπορα, etc.; for ιξελα, against Hfm. 65 with Nachtrag appears § 10 I; finally κοιος (or κοιον? Hatzidakis Z. Abst. d. a. Mak. 22 n. 1) appears Athen. X 455 d: Μακεδονες δε τον αριθμον κοιον προσαγορευοντι, not: cita etc. but: gr. κοεω, therefore from *kouios, compare Fick KZ XLII 150. Therefore and for the conservation of initial *s* (compare § to II) the adespot gloss ξιγος ο τον μελισσον ηχος η τον ομοιον which Blumenthal has very acutely reconciled with got. *siggvan* - 'to sing' (IF IL 179 ff.), that Ζειρηνη - Αφροδιτη εν Μακεδονια is the same word as gr. Ζειρηνες, should be granted to this scholar (ibid. 180 ff.), but that does not prove anything for the conservation of *s*-, since the origin of the word is unknown to us.

⁶⁷ Hatzidakis in his relative chronology of some “*Greex*” phonetic phenomena (KZ XXXVII 150 ff.) places the most recent labialization and dentalization of labiovelars of κ, χ + i>σσ, ττ, γ + i>σσ, due to νιξω:, νιπτω , πεσω, πεψω, etc., therefore more recent than the passage of MA to TA. The inference is wrong, because the disappearance of the labial element in the labiovelars is very ancient, compare Osthoff If XXVIIf 174 ff.

I do not feel to value for the ancient commonality with the “*Greex*” the fact of conservation of the initial group consisting of guttural or more sibilant labial, which Macedonian has in common with the “*Greex*” as well as with the Arian (Hatzidabis, Z. Abst. From Mak. 3.3): see Ξανδικος § 2 (the other examples ael H. are unsafe).

some difficulties;⁶⁸ in any case, the identical treatment of the labiovelars in “Greek” and Macedonian seems to me a certain indication that the respective peoples must have advanced from their ancient seats towards the historical ones; to which he also mentions the great similarity in the lexicon, a similarity that we’ll have to consider even greater if we must assent to the correct observation of Hatzidakis Z. Abst. d. to. MaR. 19, that speakers will normally have noticed the voices different from those corresponding in “Greek” or otherwise interesting, and not only the identical ones.

15. In conclusion and summarizing, it seems to me that Macedonian can be said to be the form taken towards the middle of the 1st millennium BCE from a certain number of Indo-European dialects spoken by tribes that must have appertained in their expansion and migration towards the south to the same mass of the future Oscans, Umbrians and (Semitic) “Greex”,⁶⁹ these tribes arrived in the new settlements, and, in following various ethnic upheavals that led to the relative position of the various peoples which we find in historical epoch bordering with the Macedonians, these dialects entered into communication as the complete languages, and introduced, first in agreement with one and thenafter with the rest of them, innovations, which were giving them a typical common aspect: the formation of a Macedonian state meant that the character of the dialects was becoming more and more uniform, so that the “Greex” knew the Macedonian as a substantially unique language, and were able to distinguish it not only from “Greek”, but also from Illyrian, Thracian and Phrygian.

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⁶⁸ I don't know how to think if the Gaul/Kelts pushed that much to the orient or the "Greex" that much to the west.

⁶⁹ I insisted on the lexical relationship of Osco-Umbro with the “Greek” in Studi 604 n. 4. Macedonian has a voice *ιλεξ* (written *Ιλαξ*)* η πρινος ως Ρομαιοι και M. (Hfm. 42); and one wonders if Latin *ilex* is not a voice of Osco-Umbrian origin. Perhaps it could be explained by this origin the uncertainty between *ilex* of the Latin lateral and *elex* presupposed by the Romance languages, see also Meyer-Lubke, Romanisches Etymologlsches Wörterbuch 4259 and the Umbrian graphic uncertainties (*i*, *ih*, and in epichoric writing), moreover the Oscan epicoric script *ii* for the ancient *ī*.

* Today “*Ilyac*” in plain Macedonian: <http://www.makedonski.info/search/i%D1%99a%D1%87>, modern form: “*Lek*” - ‘cure’:

<http://www.makedonski.info/search/lek#%D0%BB%D0%B5%D0%BA/%D0%BC>

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